

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4126

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAGRAPHS NUMBERED INCORRECTLY)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, FR

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS - FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION

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1. SUMMARY: IN THIS MESSAGE, WE TRY TO PLACE THE FRENCH DRAFT

DECLARATION IN A PERSPECTIVE SEEN FROM PARIS. WE ALSO ADDRESS LIKELY FRENCH ATTITUDES ON SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED BY AMB. RUMSFELD (USNATO 4830). WE BELIEVE THAT GOF IS WILLING TO EXAMINE ADDITIONS AND CHANGES TO ITS DRAFT DECLARATION, BUT IS LIKELY TO RESIST EFFORTS TO MODIFY FRENCH VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF FRANCE'S DETERRENT, BURDEN SHARING AND MBFR. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PERSPECTIVE. WITHOUT DETRACTING FROM EITHER THE SKILLFUL DRAFTING OF FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OR THE OBVIOUS TACTICAL UTILITY OF USING THE FRENCH DRAFT AS A MEANS TOWARD ACHIEVING A DECLARATION ACCEPTABLE TO THE FIFTEEN, WE FIND NO SUGGESTION OF NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE FRENCH TEXT. SPECIFICALLY, WHILE RECOGNIZING WELCOME IMPROVEMENT IN TONE OF FRENCH DRAFT WE BELIEVE IT IS PREATURE TO CONCLUDE THAT IT REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT POLICY SHIFT BY THE FRENCH TOWARD NATO OR TOWARD EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. AS DE ROSE POINTED OUT QUITE CLEARLY (USNATO 47 34), THE FRENCH DRAFT DOES NOT ALTER FRANCE'S POSITION ON IMILITARY INTEGRATION, OR THE GOF VIEW OF THE NATURE OF ITS COOPERATION WITH ALLIANCE

3. THE TWO OTHER NATO SUBJECTS ON WHICH FRANCE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY UNCOOPERATIVE, BURDEN SHARING AND MBFR, WERE NOTABLE BY THEIR ABSENCE FROM THE FRENCH DRAFT. WHILE DE ROSE DREW A RATHER TRANSPARENT DISTINCTION BETWEEN PERMANENT AND CURRENT PROBLEMS TO JUSTIFY THE EXCLUSION OF THESE TWO SUBJECTS FROM THE FRENCH DRAFT, WE KNOW THAT THE GOF ALLERGY TO THESE ISSUES RUNS VERY DEEP. IN THE NEAR TERM, FRENCH POLICY ON THESE SUBJECTS IS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE IN SUBSTANCE, REGARDLESS OF COMPROMISE LANGUAGE THAT MIGHT BE ACCEPTED BY FRANCE WITHIN NATO FOR PURPOSES OF THE DECLARATION.

4. FINALLY, WE FIND THE FRENCH DRAFT'S REFERENCE (PARA 8, USNATO 4910), TO POLITICAL UNITY AND ITS POTENTIAL EFFECT ON THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE MUCH TOO VAGUE TO INDICATE A NEW POLICY. TAKEN TOGETHER WITH POMPIDOU'S COMMENT THAT "... THE PROBLEM OF AN AUTONOMOUS EUROPEAN DEFENSE ... IS NOT A PROBLEM FOR TODAY" (PARIS 25599), WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH ARE NOW MOVING TOWARD CREATING (EITHER WITH NATO OR WITH THE EIGHT) A EUROPEAN DEFENSE SYSTEM.

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5. NEVETHELESS, THE GOF REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE IN THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES CREATED BY THE US/USSR STRATEGIC STAND-OFF. A SENIOR ELYSEE OFFICIAL TOLD THE AMBASSADOR AND POL COUNSELOR OCTOBER 12 THAT THE QUESTION OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE EFFORT WAS ONE FOR THE LONG TERM, WHILE THE QUESTION OF THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE WAS AN IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, ARISING FROM US/USSR STRATEGIC PARITY AND CONTINUED WEST EUROPEAN VULNERABILITY, WHICH REQUIRED THE ATTENTION OF EUROPEANS, AMONG THEMSELVES

AND WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL, FON MIN JOBERT TOLD HIM THAT THIS INTERPRETATION ACCORDED WITH THE MEANING OF JOBERT'S REFERENCE TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE IN HIS JUNE 19 SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. FRENCH CONCERN SEEMS LIMITED FOR THE TIME BEING TO DRAMATIZING THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE, RATHER THAN PROPOSING NEW DIRECTIONS FOR ANSWERING THAT QUESTION.

6. FRENCH ATTITUDES. BASED ON OUR DISCUSSION OF THE FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION WITH FONOFF OFFICIALS, THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDES SEEM TO PREVAIL WITHIN THE QUAI.

A. FRENCH AND UK NUCLEAR FORCES. THE QUAI BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOF TO AMEND THE FRENCH REFERENCE TO THE ANGLO/FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES FULFILLING "A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN." FRENCH AND UK FORCES DO NOT PLAY AN "ADDITIONAL" DETERRENT ROLE, ACCORDING TO THE QUAI, BUT REPRESENT INDIVIDUAL DISCRETE DETERRENT FORCES. LANGUAGE THAT MAKES THESE FORCES (PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH FORCES) APPEAR TO BE APPENDAGES OF THE US DETERRENT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOF TO ACCEPT.

B. DEFENSE POSTURE. QUAI SOURCES THOUGHT THAT GOF WOULD BE ABLE TO AGREE TO LANGUAGE INCORPORATING THE IDEA THAT ALLIES SHOULD IMPROVE AS WELL AS MAINTAIN THEIR FORCES.

C. DEFENSE RESOURCES. QUAI OFFICIALS WERE UNCERTAIN WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND FOR "MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE." THEY NOTED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE PROBLEMS WITH ANY REFERENCE TO A NATO LOC ACROSS FRANCE UNDER THE RUBRIC OF "ADEQUATE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT." COMMENT: FROM PAST DISCUSSIONS, WE KNOW THAT THE GOF DOES NOT SEEM TO BE PREPARED TO PLAY A LARGER ROLE IN NATO EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE MORE RATIONAL USE OF DEFENSE RESOURCES (E.G., EUROGROUP). GOF HAS SHOWN INTEREST, HOWEVER, IN PUSHI
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